

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 SS-20 NSC-07 SSO-00 NSCE-00

INRE-00 SCCT-02 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-11 L-03 ACDA-19

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

OMB-01 SAM-01 DRC-01 EURE-00 USIE-00 NEA-14 AID-20

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7159

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO/RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 2495

ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 4336

AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE

USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE

USNMR SHAPE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4407

E.O. 11652: GDS 12/31/80

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, CY, TU, GR, NATO

SUBJECT: NAC MEETING AUGUST 14 ON CYPRUS

DEPARTMENT PLASE PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD

REF: USNATO 4386

SUMMARY: NAC AT 1130 LOCAL (1030 GMT) MET AT REQUEST OF GREEK PERMREP TO RECEIVE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT ATHENS WITHDRAWING ITS MILITARY FORCES FROM THE ALLIANCE (REFTEL). DISCUSSION WAS DIGNIFIED AND SERIOUS, WITH

ALL MEMBERS EXCEPT FRANCE EXPRESSING HOPE THAT GREEK DECISION WAS
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REVERSIBLE, IN VIEW OF SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES TO WHOLE ALLIANCE. ALL EXCEPT TURKEY AND GREECE APPEALED FOR CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES ON CYPRUS, AND RETURN TO NEGOTIATIONS, AND SUPPORTED THIS MORNING'S SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

END SUMMARY.

1. PANSA (ACTING SYG) LED OFF THE DISCUSSION BY NOTING THAT A MEMBER INTENDED TO ANNOUNCE WITHDRAWAL OF ITS FORCES FROM THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF THE ALLIANCE, THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON CYPRUS HAVE BROKEN DOWN, AND THAT FIGHTING HAS RESUMED ON THE ISLAND. HE URGED THE TWO DELEGATIONS MOST CONCERNED TO AVOID POLEMICS IN TODAY'S DISCUSSION. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE SERIOUS DANGERS POSED FOR THE ALLIANCE AND URGED THE RENEWAL OF THE CEASE FIRE AND OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTION WAS A POLITICAL ONE. HE ANNOUNCED THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL WOULD INTERRUPT HIS VACATION AND RETURN TO NATO THIS AFTERNOON. HE WELCOMED ANY IDEAS ON HOW NATO AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL COULD HELP IN THE PRESENT SITUATION.

2. CHORAFAS (GREECE) SAID HE HAD ASKED FOR THIS MEETING AT THE REQUEST OF HIS GOVERNMENT TO ANNOUNCE THAT IN VIEW OF "THE INCAPACITY OF THE ALLIANCE" TO ACT IN RESOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, THE PRIME MINISTER HAD ORDERED THE REMOVAL OF GREEK TROOPS FROM THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF THE ALLIANCE. HOWEVER, GREECE REMAINS A MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL SIDE OF THE ALLIANCE.

3. ERALP (TURKEY) SAID HE WAS WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, BUT PERSONALLY HOPED THAT THE SITUATION WOULD RETURN TO NORMAL SOON ENOUGH TO HAVE GREECE BACK IN THE MILITARY FOLD AT AN EARLY DATE.

4. LOGAN (UK) THEN REVIEWED DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS. HE NOTED THE ORIGINS OF THE CRISIS IN THE COUP D'ETAT ON CYPRUS, AND THE CONSIDERABLE UNDERSTANDING WHICH HAS EXISTED FOR TURKEY. HE TRACED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS. AND NOTED THAT THE MAIN PURPOSE OF THE SECOND ROUND WAS TO RESOLVE CONSTITUTIONAL DIFFICULTIES. MANY RECOGNIZED SOME REVISION OF 1960 CONSTITUTION WAS NECESSARY TO MEET THE CLAIMS OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS REGARDING THE WAY THE CONSTITUTION HAD BEEN APPLIED. ON AUGUST 9 TURKEY INFORMED THE CONFERENCE THAT
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IT WANTED TWO SEPARATE AUTONOMOUS ZONES UNDER A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. ON AUGUST 12 TURKEY RAISED ALTERNATIVE PLAN CALLING FOR ONE LARGE ZONE IN THE NORTH AND SMALLER ZONES AROUND CERTAIN TOWNS FOR TURKISH CYPRIOTS. CALLAGHAN, THE CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN, BELIEVES THE PRINCIPLE OF THIS APPROACH WAS NOT REJECTED OR RULED OUT. CALLAGHAN PROPOSED A DELAY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TO PERMIT GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVES TO GO BACK TO NICOSIA AND STUDY THE IDEA. SUCH A DELAY WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO TURKEY.

5. LOGAN OBSERVED THAT THIS LATEST TURKISH PLAN WAS GIVEN TO CLERIDES AT 11 P.M. ON AUGUST 12, AND THAT HE WAS TOLD THAT TURKEY NEEDED A DECISION BY MIDNIGHT, AUGUST 13, I.E. 25 HOURS

LATER. CLERIDES AT 10 A.M. AUGUST 13 ASKED FOR A DELAY. AT 6-7 P.M. HE LEARNED TURKEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT A DELAY. CALLAGHAN THEN APPEALED FOR A 36 HOUR RECESS FOR CONSULTATIONS IN CAPITALS. HE AND MAVROS WERE READY TO RESUME ON AUGUST 15. DENKTASH SAID HE COULD ACCEPT A DELAY IF GUNES COULD. LOGAN NOTED THAT GUNES AT SEVERAL POINTS IN GENEVA DISCUSSIONS HAD HIMSELF ASKED FOR DELAYS TO PERMIT CONSULTATIONS, BUT GUNES COULD NOT ACCEPT A DELAY LAST NIGHT.

6. LOGAN CONCLUDED THAT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS HAD NOT BEEN EXHAUSTED, AND THAT THERE WAS SOME QUESTION ABOUT TURKISH HASTE. HE SAID THE EVENTS IN CYPRUS THIS MORNING ARE A THREAT TO PEACE, AND RISK LOSING FOR TURKEY THE UNDERSTANDING AND SYMPATHY IT HAD WON EARLIER IN THE CRISIS. LOGAN THOUGHT THE NAC WOULD WANT TO ENDORSE THIS MORNING'S SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, AND CALL ON ALL PARTIES TO RETURN TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. HE QUOTED CALLAGHAN AS SAYING THIS MORNING THAT THE PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED ONLY BY THE TWO COMMUNITIES ON CYPRUS; AND THAT "TODAY THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS IS A PRISONER OF THE TURKISH ARMY, BUT TOMMORROW THE TURKISH ARMY WILL FIND ITSELF A PRISONER OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS."

7. ERALPSAID TURKEY WAS NOT GOING TO BE A PRISONER IN ANY ISLAND ANY MORE THAN THE BRITISH ARE PRISONERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE REASON FOR TURKISH HASTE WAS THAT TURKEY SAW NO ISSUE TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM GIVEN THE ATTITUDE OF CLERIDES, WHO FROM THE BEGINNING DENIED THE COMPETENCE OF THE CONFERENCE, AND SAID HE WOULD DO EVERYTHING TO SAFEGUARD THE HELLENSIM OF CYPRUS.

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THE TURKISH REASONS ARE MADE CLEAR IN THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT STATEMENT RELEASED IN ANKARA THIS MORNING. HE STRESSED THAT TURKEY WANTED NOTHING MORE FOR TURKISH CYPRIOTS THAN WHAT GREEK CYPRIOTS HAVE HAD. AS LONG AS CYPRIOT GOVERNMENT BASED ON A SINGLE COMMUNITY, THIS OBJECTIVE IS CRIPPLED.

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-11 L-03 ACDA-19 NSAE-00 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-07 SAM-01

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ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 4337
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE
USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE
USNMR SHAPE IMMEDIATE

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8. KRAPF (FRG) SAID EVENTS ARE NOW PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF OUR COMMON ADVERSARIES. HE APPEALED MOST URGENTLY TO GREECE AND TURKEY TO KEEP IN MIND THE ORVERRIDING INTERESTS OF THE ALLIANCE. AS DIFFICULT AS THE PROBLEMS ARE, THEY ARE NOT OF THE SAME ORDER AS THE DIFFICULTIES FOR WHICH THE ALLIANCE WAS FOUNDED.

9. MCAULIFFE (U.S.) SAID THIS WAS A SAD DAY BECAUSE OF COLLAPSE OF GENEVA TALKS, OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING ON CYPRUS, AND ANNOUNCEMENT BY GREECE. HE RECALLED RUMSFELD'S JULY 21 STATEMENT ON NEED FOR A CEASE FIRE WHICH REFERRED TO POSSIBLE DIRE EFFECTS ON GREECE AND TURKEY AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH OTHER ALLIES. THESE EFFECTS ARE NOW BEING REALIZED. MCAQIFFE JOINED WITH LOGAN AND KRAPF IN EXPRESSING SHOCK AND DISMAY. HE NOTED THAT WHEN GREECE AND TURKEY JOINED ALLIANCE IN 1951, ORIGINAL SIGNATORIES RECOGNIZED THAT THE ALLIANCE NEEDED GREECE AND TURKEY, AND GREECE
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AND TURKEY RECOGNIZED THAT THE ALLIANCE SERVED A PURPOSE IN MEETING THEIR OWN NEEDS. HE SAID HE WOULD NOT ADDRESS HIMSELF TO LOGAN'S POINTS, SINCE U.S. POSITION CLEAR FROM STATEMENTS TO GOVERNMENTS AND TO THE PRESS. HE ASSOCIATED THE U.S. WITH THIS MORNING'S SECURITY COUNCIL'S RESOLUTION. HE STRESSED THAT THE ALLIES HAVE A LARGE RESPONSIBILITY TO BE SURE THAT TODAY'S EVENTS DO NOT CAUSE IRREPARABLE DAMAGE TO THE SECURITY OF EACH OF US.

10. THE FOLLOWING COUNCIL MEMBERS EACH IN TURN THEN ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH THE PREVIOUS EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN, CALLED FOR CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND A RETURN TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE, AND SUPPORTED THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. FRANCE, ITALY, BELGIAUM, NETHERLANDS, DENMARK, NORWAY, OUXEMBOURG, PORTUGAL, CANADA AND ICELAND SPOLE IN THAT ORDER. ALL OF THESE COUNTRIES, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF FRANCE, HOPED THE GREEK DECISION WAS NOT IRREVERSIBLE, AND THAT GREECE WOULD RETURN TO THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF NATO.

11. ADMIRAL MINTER (ACTING CHAIRMAN OF MILITARY COMMITTEE)

SAID HE SHARED THE HOPE FOR EARLY GREEK RETURN TO MILITARY SIDE OF NATO. HE SAID THE GREEK DECISION WOULD HAVE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE WHOLE SPECTRUM OF NATO DEFENSE, WHICH WERE IMPOSSIBLE TO ASSESS AT THIS TIME. HE ASKED NATO POLITICAL AUTHORITIES TO URGE GREECE TO RECOGNIZE THE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS DECISION AND TO RECONSIDER IT.

12. KRAPF SUPPORTED MINTERS' REMARKS. HE NOTED THAT CHORAFAS HAD CITED AS A REASON FOR THE GREEK DECISION THE "INCAPACITY OF THE ALLIANCE". HOWEVER, THE ALLIANCE WAS NOT SET UP TO PREVENT MILITARY CONFLICT AMONG THE ALLIES. NATO WORKS BY PERSUASION FOR ITS DECISIONS, AND IT IS NOT FAIR TO BLAME THE ALLIANCE IF THIS DOESN'T WORK. HE UNDERSTOOD THE DIFFICULTIES OF GREEK/TURKISH MILITARY COOPERATION UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT HOPED THAT GREECE COULD SOON RECONSIDER ITS DECISION. PANSA SAID HE THOUGHT NATO HAD DONE ITS BEST, AND WHETHER IT SUCCEEDS IS NOT NOW IN NATO'S HANDS. MCAULIFFE SUPPORTED KRAPF'S REMARK. THE U.S. CHARGE ADDED THAT MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE ALL FREE AND INDEPENDENT. BUT HE STRESSED THAT WE ALL HAVE OBLIGATIONS TO EACH OTHER, AND THAT WHOEVER BENEFITS FROM THE ALLIANCE HAS SPECIAL
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OBLIGATIONS TO THE OTHERS. CHORAFAS SAID HIS PERSONAL IMPRESSION OF THE GREEK DECISION WAS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT DOES NOT HOLD THE ALLIANCE RESPONSIBLE, BUT WAS REFERRING TO CERTAIN ALLIES WHO COULD HAVE DONE MORE TO CALM THE SITUATION AND FACILITATE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

13. PANSA SUMMED UP THE DISCUSSION AS FOLLOWS: THE NAC TOOK NOTE OF THE GREEK DECISION, AND EXPRESSED ITS REGRET AS WELL AS ITS HOPE THAT THE DECISION WAS REVERSIBLE. THE NAC REGRETTED THE INTERRUPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS AND THE RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES, AND URGENTLY APPEALED FOR RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS AND A CEASE-FIRE.

THE NAC EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR TODAY'S SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. PANSA ASKED MEMBERS TO DO WHAT IS NECESSARY TO SUPPORT THESE OBJECTIVES, AND TO USE THE NAC AS A FORUM FOR INFORMATION AND COORDINATION. HE ASKED MEMBERS FOR ANY IDEAS REGARDING STEPS THE SECRETARY GENERAL MIGHT TAKE IN DISCHARGE OF HIS WATCHING BRIEF ON CYPRUS.

14. RESULT OF DISCUSSION ON PRESS GUIDELINES CONCERNING THIS NAC MEETING IS REPORTED SEPTEL.
MCAULIFFE

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